1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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583 mere act of propagation until after the birth of the offspring, then these runaway unions are, generally speaking, genuine marriages. They are certainly so regarded by the natives; and the lover, after obtaining the woman's consent, has to secure the goodwill of her parents by making money payments (amounting nowadays to 15s. plus one goat) which have every [684] appearance of being a bride-price. To elope with a married woman without having made these payments is considered a serious offence.[1]

• [851] Children begotten by the secondary husband belong to him. The original husband does not claim compensation for the loss of his wife, for he hopes that she will eventually return to him. A secondary husband, similarly, cannot claim the return of his payments if he in turn is abandoned. A Katab woman may thus in her lifetime have had as many as ten different husbands; but a woman so fickle would be regarded as being little better than a harlot among the more sophisticated tribes. Parents, [626] moreover, who consistently encourage a daughter to change her husband are viewed with contempt. Religious rites are even performed every three years, the object of which is to put a check on excess of elopement marriages.

The system of sub-marriages has been regarded with disfavour by both the Fulani and British administrations, and suggestions have been made and rules introduced for modifying or abrogating the practice, which is clearly a source of trouble to those in authority. We shall see presently, however, that the social organization of the Katab tribe is intimately bound up with the institution of sub-marriages. No regulations affecting the institution should, therefore, be introduced without a full understanding of their probable effect, nor should the opinion of the tribal chiefs themselves be accepted as final in the matter, for they may agree to changes the full effect of which they themselves are unable clearly to foresee.

587 Type (*c*). The third type of marriage is that produced by the inheritance or purchase of a widow. Sons may inherit and marry their father's or grandfather's widows (though marriages with the grandfather's widows are necessarily of rare occurrence)

[1] In the case of wives obtained *from neighbouring tribes* (capture or arrangement with the woman) the woman's parents were not consulted, though a bride-price might subsequently be paid.

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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

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There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

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When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

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[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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851 606 583 or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying: "Take this child in full payment of the labour which you, in your suitor days, expended on my farm." The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of 7*s.*, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her marriage trousseau. If the [171] payment were not made the wife's parents could retain the child, a custom found among the Matabele of South Africa. In the case of offspring born to a secondary wife (i.e. one who had eloped) it is the first child that has to be redeemed by the money payment of 7*s.*, and there is no claim on a second child. The reason for this is obvious, viz. that the husband of a secondary wife had performed no agricultural service on the farm of his parents-in-law. Among the neighbouring Kachichere tribe every [171] child has to be redeemed from the mother's family. There is a fixed scale of cash payment to-day, viz. 5*s.* for the first child, 4*s.* for the second, 3*s.* for the third, and so on. (Compare the Hausa custom of "Kworia nono" and see Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*.)

These customs throw, perhaps, more light on the subject of the bride-price than they do on that of mother-right.[1] A woman who has proved her fertility is considered to be worth more than one who has not. The original bride-price has therefore to be supplemented when children are born. In this connection we are reminded of one of the laws of Hammurabi, which required that the bride-price should revert to the husband if the wife died without having borne him children.

The Katab custom of waiving the redemption payment on account of agricultural service rendered may indicate that marriage by capture was in earlier times the normal mode of marriage. The further custom of redeeming the second child for a payment, which is regarded as compensation for the girl's trousseau, is an interesting link between the bride-price and what may be regarded as a dowry, and also indicates that the claim on children may have had nothing to do with an inherent mother-right system, but was regarded merely as compensation for the loss at marriage of a daughter's services, and for the expense of fitting her out.

[1] For further data on this subject the reader is referred to the paper on the Mumuye-speaking peoples, vol. i, ch. viii.

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year ●851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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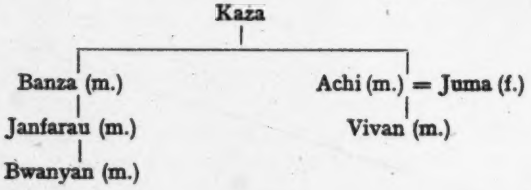
Kachichere

"madaiki" or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a "grandmother" marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma "Mother"; he did not adopt the rôle of "father-in-law" to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan "Father". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Kagoro

582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated 587 afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte 851 woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

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Kaje

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Aniang	Akumbwon
Okwang	Okwon
Yekwop	Atukwon
Ojam	Odzam
Ashin	Afin
Aviyuk	Afi
Angat	Ati (= father)
Neowhop	Neokwon
Nungvan	Aranduan

It will be seen that the principal difference lies in the special term Akumbwon used by the Kaje for a son's wife. The informants were unable to explain the meaning of this term, but stated that it had no connection with the word *kambwon*, signifying grandchild.

The inheritance and marriage of the paternal grandparent's widows is, as among the Katab, permissible, and it was also stated that the inheritance of a maternal grandparent's widow was also permissible in the case of a lad who had taken up his residence with his maternal grandfather. Inheritance of a father's or father's brother's widows is common (as also among the Katab). There is no special term for cross-cousin (as there is among the Kurama) and a Kaje appears to be playmates with his ortho-cousins equally with his cross-cousins. As among the Katab, so also among the Kaje, the second child born to a married couple has to be ransomed from the wife's parents.

KAJE

1. Head	dechu	dɪtʃu
2. Hair	bonkwon	bonkwɔn
3. Eye	disi	dɪsɪ
Two eyes	asu ahwa	asuahwa
4. Ear	tuwo	tuwo
Two ears	atwo ahwa	atwo ahwa
5. Nose	znai	znai
6. One tooth	dingi tirung	dɪŋɪ tɪrʊŋ
Five teeth	anyi atfwon	anji atfwɔn
7. Tongue	diriam	dɪrɪam
8. Neck	tuwa	tuwa
9. Breast (woman's)	dibiam	dibiam

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but subsequently spends three or four months " in her own home " (presumably her paternal compound? In societies where secondary marriage is common, a special connection with the mother, wherever she may reside, is usual, however).

According to Meek, co-wives of the father's mother attend the birth. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor, and was formerly planted with a seed yam which, when mature, was fed to the child: current practice is not stated. The placenta is casually buried " at the back of the house "; no beliefs are attached to it, according to Meek, but his diagram of a Katab compound shows that the mother's " bean-garden " lies at the back of her house. It was stated in 1921 that boys are circumcised at birth, but Meek does not mention circumcision.

Naming, usually a more or less casual matter, is performed two days after birth. If the mother has lost a number of children, the ***elenowum*** (presumably of the father's lineage) may at this time preside over ceremonial beer-drinking with prayers. Every child's uvula is clipped on the naming day.

According to Meek, the first child is taken when two months old to the home of the wife's parents who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. " Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying, 'Take this child in full payment of the labour which you [when a suitor] expended on my farm.' The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of seven shillings, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her . . . trousseau. If the payments were not made the wife's parents could retain the child. . ." Meek does not indicate how the time of this ceremonial fits in with the return of the wife to her parents' compound for a period of months, as already described.

During the period of lactation it is common practice for a mother to cover her entire body and head with red ochre, to improve her supply of milk. Until the child is weaned, intercourse between mother and father is prohibited, this period lasting up to three years. Boys sleep in their mother's hut till they are five years of age, girls until they marry.

Meek writes of " adoption " among the Katab, which might be described more accurately as " sharing " or " lending " children, " to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children . . . or requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but . . . a man has to ransom his second child [of whichever sex] by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price."

Initiation

There appears to be no record of circumcision among Katab proper. Tribal initiation, according to Meek, takes the form of initiation into the public cult of *obwai*,[24] associated apparently with the private ancestral cult, but there are no elaborate initiation rites. Children, presumably boys only, of four to eight years are taken to the *obwai* hut, warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony ends with a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. Though it is not made clear, this initiation no doubt occurs at the appearance of the *obwai*. It appears that no personal insignia are issued to the individual, at this time, at least (contrast Kaje, p. 112 below).

Boys receive their facial markings later, " some years after they have begun to engage in agricultural work." Girls receive their markings in connection with their primary marriage (see below), probably at much the same age as boys, since girls marry very young. Marking is apparently done individually and without particular rites or ceremonies.

[24] See below, p. 79.

co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.
[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.
[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.
[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

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Kagoro

(3) Widow inheritance.[87] 587

(*a*) Inheritance of (man's) father's wife.

(*b*) Inheritance of (man's) " real " brother's wife.

(*c*) Inheritance of (man's) classificatory brother's wife (most commonly within lineage or clan, sometimes within the limits of the *bin*).

In primary marriage, according to Smith, the actual negotiations are never made by the parties concerned: the suitor or his father approaches a matrilineal or affinal relative of the suitor in an appropriate (*niendi*) clan and names the girl-member that interests him; this relative, in turn, seeks out as a second intermediary a fellow clansman more closely related to the girl's father and willing to arrange the marriage. A series of gifts is made by the suitor and his father through the go-betweens to the girl and her parents, and lesser gifts are returned. In the year before the marriage is to take place, the girl's back is cicatrized (see *Initiation*, above): feasts prepared by the suitor's family, and consumed by the girl and her kin in their own village, precede and follow the ordeal. At last, three women (the chief wife of each of the intermediaries, and the wife of a matrilineal kinsman of the bride) take the girl to her husband's compound. According to Smith, " This carrying of the bride to her husband's home . . . is performed by all Kagoro at a set season after . . . Zafan clan at Kadarko . . ." Further rituals, however, occupy several succeeding days before the marriage is consummated. 584

It is noteworthy that, according to Smith's Kagoro informants, formal courtship occurs during betrothal on visits made by the suitor accompanied by a male friend. They visit the girl's compound after dark, taking a new mat and some tobacco or beer as gifts for her mother and father. No sexual play or intercourse is associated with these visits which take place as often as the suitor desires. Kagoro say that premarital intercourse is rare and premarital pregnancy exceptionally rare. It is particularly shameful if a daughter gives birth in her parents' home, and to avoid this, when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the marriage is immediately carried out without any formalities. Which is to say, apparently, that she simply takes up residence in her husband's compound, without any of the ceremony described above, and regardless of the " set season." 584 836 848

The primary marriage of a woman may—and appears often to—serve as a kind of signal to secondary suitors, as they may be termed: " Suitors seeking a girl in secondary marriage first bring the matter to her parents' notice on the day that she has been taken to her first husband's compound." Secondary courtship proceeds much according to the pattern observed for primary: the woman's parents are approached, gifts are exchanged, and courtship visits paid to the woman whenever she returns to her parental compound, as she does periodically, according to a more or less fixed traditional pattern from the very beginning of her marriage. A wife may reject a secondary suitor, however; on the other hand, a really persistent secondary suitor can have his way with her provided she bears her primary husband a child, and the suitor can succeed in kidnapping the infant during the nursing period. 584 587

Complete failure to persuade a woman in a secondary suit may result in refunding payments made by the suitor, application for which he makes only as a last resort, however.

As indicated earlier, payments made by a husband secure the membership of his children in his own clan: young children, however, regularly accompany their mother when she takes up residence with successive husbands; this practice has the effect of extending the terms for father and paternal relatives of children to all the husbands of the mother and their relatives. To prevent paternity disputes, a woman was required monthly, for three months after taking up residence 851 843

[87] *N.B.*, widows apparently cannot contract new primary marriages.